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764 [264] [177] provided for them. These are commonly of the cane-like reed, *shiki*,[1] and are discarded after the funeral. For funerals the normal manner of cutting these chopsticks is reversed.

Family Mourning

[203] Within an hour of the apparent cessation of life the near relatives and sometimes close friends are summoned. A little later the news is carried near and far by messengers. This news is known as 'telling bad news' (*assurani* or *assuru-tasa*), and the usual title for a messenger (*shongo*) is changed to 'person with bad news' (*assuru-koro-guru*). At Mokoto in the north the body is not dressed till near kinsfolk who may live far away have arrived; if there is stench from decay, sulphur is burnt. At Nibutani the body is dressed after the first family mourning.

Before the body is dressed only near relatives and an intimate friend or two are allowed to see it, and these are said to share with the deceased a feeling for which there is a curious phrase, *uko-yai-buri-anno*, which means 'mutual embarrassment'. The living have, besides their grief, an uncanny feeling at seeing the cold stillness of death, and the deceased is supposed to feel embarrassment at being unable to rise and greet his relatives and friends. [195] The corpse, when dressed but before its final wrapping, is known as *pone*, but in prayer to Kamui Fuchi it is called *nupe-po*, the lamented, and this title is used when speaking to relatives of the recently dead.

782 764 When the fact of death is certain, an elder, usually one of the family, prays to Kamui Fuchi, asking her to take care of the liberated soul and to afford protection during the ceremonies. Before praying he attracts her attention by gently drawing a live ember from the hearth. Before and sometimes during the prayer he exclaims '*fuo*', a call for spirit attention. He then kneels at the head of the corpse and bows over it with his palms on the floor. He again exclaims '*fuo*', sighs and addresses the dead. His speech [537] is called *pone ewe homsu*,[2] sorrowing over the dead body, and in it

[1] *Miscanthus*. For ordinary use they are cut so that the knots are regularly spaced with one at the top; for funeral use the knots should be irregularly spaced. —H.W.

[2] *Homsu* or *homshu* has various meanings, but here implies condolence or sympathy. This talk to the dead person with the mouth close to his ear, as I have sometimes seen it, varies in tone and content according to at least eleven conditions of the deceased, including sex and age.—N.G.M.

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he mingles regret with reassurance. He then bows low and weeps with the rest of the company.

All who salute the head of the corpse weep, most of them copiously. All male adults are invited to make this last farewell and it is thought improper not to weep, even for a former enemy. Women shed tears from beginning to end of the proceedings, and all join in a dirge which consists in a repetition of *o-yoyopota*, 'Oh, how dreadful'. Descriptive phrases may occasionally be introduced, but the elders dislike elaboration. Attitudes of dejection are called *uko-noyoize*, 'altogether wilted'. The effect of many voices chanting in a natural harmony is very beautiful.

Preparing the Body

[775]

The proper dressing of the body is essential, for not until it is dressed is the soul ready to join the ancestors in *Kamui Kotan*. It is then supposed to forget all earthly events, good or bad, and all anger and discontent disappear unless some unusual grievance is strong enough to remain in memory. Formerly, when an Ainu had been killed by another, his body was dressed in the manner of living Ainu so that he might exact vengeance. Normally, as we shall see, the clothing is reversed so that all memory of the past may be wiped out.

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The body is first washed from head to foot, women only attending to women. A woman's body is prepared for burial by a sister, mother, or mother's sister, or maternal grandmother, who may be assisted by some other respected woman. All women are supposed to keep a spare girdle (*kut*) ready for their own burial, without which the soul of a dead woman dare not meet the ancestral spirits. The old one is taken by a close female relative, or it might be buried in the porch. A new male loincloth is put on a father's corpse by his son and the son's corpse by his father. Failing them a father's brother does this.

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In respectable families clothing for the dead was formerly made and kept for that purpose. Women made their cloth (*attush*), and for some centuries before the Meiji era, Japanese stuffs, and perhaps some from China, traded through Siberia, were obtained by barter. Clean garments are essential for the journey to join the Ancestral Host. Clothes worn by the deceased inspire fear and caution, and I am told that they are still turned out of the house

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DEATH AND BURIAL

764 [576] (Pl. XXV) after weeping at the feet of the corpse. When this ceremony is finished all wash their hands outside and the funeral feast begins.

[534] The important mourners sit in order along the north wall, and this arrangement is called *pone kiri—samta u-eshopki* (beside the body mutually seated). At the head of the hearth are a few elders specially chosen from the village of the deceased, with elders from [782] other villages opposite. Libations are made to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Chisei-koro Kamui, all with libation wand lowered. This is a slight reversal, except for Kamui Fuchi whose wand is usually lowered. The cup is passed from north to south, the reverse [782] of the ordinary custom, and the wand on its rim is pointed not towards the receiver but to the one who hands it. All guests before [262] drinking point the wand down to give a drop or two to the floor, [177] formerly of earth. The viands, consisting of stew, millet cakes, etc., and now rice and often cheap Japanese sweetmeats, are set on trays [178] with short feet (*otchike*) near the lower hearth. Nowadays *shochu* is offered to all the men and a little to the women, with resulting [273] intoxication and deterioration of ritual observance. The manner of drinking, however, involves three instances of reversal which should be noted.

764 264 At the funeral feast for an elderly person an elder may dance a *tapkara*, which is considered pleasing to the *ramat* of the deceased. A joyous atmosphere is quite proper, but if the deceased is young such behaviour would be considered most unseemly. The elder takes care to dance with his back to the corpse.

[782] The feast includes the presentation to the deceased of a tray with bowls of food taken from the hearth and therefore given by Kamui Fuchi. Relatives sitting beside the corpse and the elders near it partake of food which has been offered to the head of the [276] corpse, all eating with their hands. For a man, or an old woman who likes a whiff of tobacco, a lighted pipe is often placed in contact with the mouth of the corpse.

764 Before the feast begins, Kamui Fuchi's permission is asked to eat it, and when it is finished the elder at (d), who is usually a relative, makes a brief address to Kamui Fuchi. He then proceeds to the head of the corpse, weeps with his hands on the ground and [537] delivers the address to the departed, known as *piyo-itak-kote* (put in last words). This varies with the age, sex and standing of the individual, but it is usual to congratulate the old and commiserate

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with the young. '*Fuo!*' is ejaculated at intervals, by some elders between every word or two. Oratory is highly esteemed and prayers and addresses are usually long. Addresses to the dead are sometimes delivered with intense fervour, evoking deep emotion. Their general tenor is sorrow with resignation and usually a reminder that the lamented one has taken the last meal with relatives and friends, and that provision has been made for the journey to, and future life in, the spirit village with the ancestors who have gone before. Advice is often given to do the will of Kamui Fuchi and to be careful not to lose the way, for it would be wrong to wander back.

Immediately after the address preparations are made for burial. The lacing cord has been attached to the grave post to keep it more or less upright, as it would be irreverent to have it lying down. In this district the post is regarded as a substitute for ancestral (*shutu*) *inau*, and its function is protective rather than memorial. The cord is used to bind the body in the mat; before this is done cuts are made in the clothes on the body, or a gesture of cutting is made. The mat is long enough to fold over head and feet, after which it is folded over the body. Skewers are thrust through the matting, first at the head and feet, and the cord is attached at its middle to the top skewer. It is wound round the bottom one and drawn taut. Six more skewers, three on each side, are thrust through the matting, and the two lengths of the cord are laced round them alternately from side to side. When they are pulled tight the body is firmly enclosed, and is then no longer called *pone* but *ot*. The process is undertaken by near relatives, but it needs experience, so an elderly woman familiar with the technique may be called in to help. This mode of burial, though general when I first knew the Ainu, has now, except in remote spots, given place to coffin burial.

Grave-goods

Before the processions leave the house Kamui Fuchi is besought once more to take care of the soul of the lamented and to afford protection against any mishap. The grave-goods, selected to suit the sex of the deceased, have been packed for transport. All are broken or so severely damaged that they are considered to be as dead as the corpse, that is to say that their *ramat* has been set free